

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



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Editor's Note: The President was at Camp David, MD, on May 31, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, May 31, 2002

The President's Radio Address

May 25, 2002

Good morning. As you hear this, I am in St. Petersburg, Russia, in the middle of a 7-day trip to Europe. I've come to Europe to reaffirm our close ties with important allies, to talk about the next stages of the war on terror, and to open a new chapter in our relationship with Russia.

In this last century, the conflicts of Europe led to war and suffering for America. Today, Europe is growing in unity and peace, and that benefits our country. The nations of the European Union have made strong contributions to the war on terror. And the volume of our annual trade and investment relationship is nearly \$2 trillion, helping workers, consumers, and families on both continents.

Germany, which I visited earlier this week, has emerged from a troubled history to become a force for good. German police and intelligence officials are helping in the war on terror. In Afghanistan, German troops have served and died beside our own. Speaking in Berlin, I thanked the German people for their support and sacrifice and talked about the challenges that still lie ahead.

Here in Russia, President Putin and I are putting the old rivalries of our Nation firmly behind us with a new treaty that reduces our nuclear arsenals to their lowest levels in decades. After years of planning for war, Russia and the United States are building a friendship based on shared interests, fighting terrorism, and expanding our trade relationship. After centuries of isolation and suspicion, Russia is finding its place in the family of Europe, and that is truly historic.

The partnership of America and Russia will continue to grow based on the foundation of freedom and the values—the democratic values we hold dear. Free nations are more peaceful nations, and the spread of liberty strengthens America.

On the rest of my trip, I'll travel to Paris and then to Normandy, France, for Memorial Day, to honor the soldiers who in 1944 gave their lives so that America, France, and all of Europe could one day live in peace and freedom. I will visit Rome for a summit that will forge new ties between the NATO Alliance and Russia. I'll meet with the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II, whose message of peace and social justice is particularly urgent at this time.

In two World Wars, the New World came to the rescue of the Old, and America became a European power. Now this continent is closer to being whole, free, and at peace than any time in its history. We must finish this job, inviting a new Russia to be our full partner. And together, we must face the challenges of the world beyond Europe and America, terrorism, poverty, and evil regimes seeking terrible weapons. Europe and America share common dangers and common values. We have the opportunity and the duty to build a world that is safer and better.

Thank you for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 8:55 a.m. on May 24 at the Marriott Grand Hotel in Moscow, Russia, for domestic broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on May 25. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 24 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of this address.

Exchange With Reporters During a Tour of the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, Russia

May 25, 2002

President's Visit to Russia

Q. Mr. President, allow me to ask you—[*inaudible*—summarize results of your—[*inaudible*]. And the second part of that question, the expectation of the Moscow summit—how do you think—

President Bush. Well, first, the hospitality has been magnificent. The time we spent last night with the Putins in their beautiful home was very relaxing for Laura and me. It gave us a great chance to see how the Putins live, a very good sense of their values. I think the thing that struck me the most was how they have raised their daughters. They've got two beautiful daughters who are incredibly talented young ladies. It is clear their mom and dad love them a lot, and that was impressive to Laura and me.

The other good piece of news is, I got to go actually run outside—[*laughter*—which is a difficult thing for me to do when I'm on the road and in Washington as well. I ran on beautiful grounds; it's such a spectacular piece of property. And then we had a wonderful breakfast—special Russian foods. It's been a wonderful, relaxing experience.

I was very touched that the President took time yesterday, after going to the Kremlin—after going to Red Square, to take us to his office. And I thought it was a great personal touch; that was important, to see the private side of this man's life. It meant a lot.

Secondly, I think the summit was—met expectations; it met my expectations. I hope it met the President's expectations. We not only signed a very important treaty; we signed a—you know, a very important protocol of how our relations ought to go forward, and I'm really glad that—I'm glad that all the hard work on both sides has paid off. And this will be good for the Russian people; this agreement will be good for the people of Russia; and it'll be good for the people of America.

You know, at the St. Petersburg cemetery today, the lady who gave us a tour spoke about peace and how it was important for everybody who walked those hallowed grounds to remember the ravages of war and to remember the importance of peace. And I explained to her that this visit was a visit of peace, where we cast aside the old ways of suspicion and now embrace peace.

Sorry about the interpreter. [*Laughter*]

Q. [*Inaudible*—interpretation.

President Bush. Okay. Well, good luck. [*Laughter*]

[*At this point, a question was asked in Russian, and no translation was provided.*]

President Vladimir Putin of Russia. As far as the staying of Mr. President and his wife in our home yesterday, I would like you to know two things. For one thing, our personal relations to—have been greatly strengthened. They're very happy to know that I'm dealing with very honest and upward and straight people. That is one.

And then there is something else, which is by no means a political thing. Yesterday, when we had our dinner and I was treating my guests, of course, to the Russian caviar, and I told him how some of the caviar is produced. The experts would take the fish and open up the fish and then take the caviar and then throw out the fish again—and throw it back into the water. [*Laughter*] Everybody was laughing, thinking that I was really inventing things on the spot, something really improbable. [*Laughter*] But I was trying to convince them—I was really trying to tell them that I was telling the truth; that's how we treated the environment. [*Laughter*]

The Secretary of State, the Russian Foreign Minister, Dr. Rice, Mr. Ivanov, and also both wives—my wife and Mr. President's wife—all laughed at me. And there was only one person who wouldn't laugh and said, "I do believe you, Mr. President," and that was the President of the United States. [*Laughter*] And I want to confirm it here and now; that's the truth, ladies and gentlemen. [*Laughter*]

And one more thing. The dinner, the supper was over somewhere around midnight, because we were supposed to go to St. Petersburg early in the morning. Of course, we got up very early; we didn't have enough sleep this morning. And when last night, before going to bed, Mr. President told me that he would be jogging in the morning, I wouldn't believe him. [*Laughter*] But he was doing that, just that.

Well, on a serious note, as far as the results of this visit are concerned, I would like to say that myself and my experts, all my experts, we have been discussing the results of the visit this morning, and we have officially agreed that we are satisfied, and all the goals of this visit have been achieved.

I thank you.

President Bush. One question, Ron [Ron Fournier, Associated Press], go ahead.

Situation in South Asia

Q. If I could ask you real quickly, sir, is there anything personal you can do to ease tensions between Pakistan and India? And do you think President Musharraf is doing enough to crack down on terrorism in Kashmir?

President Bush. We are spending a lot of time on this subject—"we" being the administration. And we're making it very clear to both parties that there is—there's no benefit of a war—there's no benefit of a clash that could eventually lead to a broader war.

We're deeply concerned about the rhetoric. It is very important for President Musharraf to stop—do what he said he's going to do to in his speech on terror, and that is stop the incursions across the line—the line of control. It's important that the Indians know that he is going to fulfill that promise.

Vladimir and I have talked about this, and he's got—he as well as the United States and Great Britain and other countries have got influence in the region, and he is going to meet soon at a conference where we believe Prime Minister Vajpayee and President Musharraf will both be attending.

My point is, is that there's a lot of diplomatic efforts going into bringing some calm and reason to the region.

President Putin. An international event is planned for the early June this year in Kazakhstan, where both President Musharraf and Prime Minister Vajpayee have been invited. I do hope they will come, and there would be an opportunity for us to discuss things. And we have covered that ground with the President of the United States.

Of course, the testing, while there is escalating tension, really aggravates the situation, and Russia is concerned and sorry about that. I'm sorry about that. And we shall be working together to take steps in order to prevent the escalation of the conflict.

President Bush. Thank you all.

NOTE: The exchange began at 1:05 p.m. In his remarks, President Bush referred to President Putin's daughters, Masha and Katya, and his wife, Lyudmila; President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan; and Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee of India. President Putin referred to Minister of Foreign Affairs Igor Sergeyevich Ivanov and Minister

of Defense Sergey Borisovich Ivanov of Russia. The transcript released by the Office of the Press Secretary also included the closing remark of President Putin. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Students at St. Petersburg State University in St. Petersburg

May 25, 2002

President Vladimir Putin of Russia. Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much for having me here. It's a great pleasure, as always, to be with young people, but especially here since I graduated from this university; it's a double pleasure for me to be here. But this university played a dual role in my career. The first time, when they basically gave me a present—they just gave me the degree that I earned—that was the one important part. [Laughter]

The second very important facet in my life was when I worked here for the rector of the university as an assistant, helping him in the area of international contacts between and among various universities. And what I was doing was doing the same thing the rector was just talking about; I was setting up the initial contacts between our university and various other universities around the world. So what we did once, we invited the president of a midsize college from St. Petersburg, Florida, to come here and pay us a visit, since they had the same name. So then, what I did is I talked the former mayor, Mr. Sobchak, to receive this president of this college. So he, in turn, invited him to come to the United States. And this Mr. Carter, who was the head of this college in St. Pete, arranged a visit with one of the Presidents of the United States at the time, and I think his name was Bush. [Laughter] After that, he invited me to come to work for him, and the rest of my career is history, as they say. [Laughter]

Well, to be very, very serious now, it's really a great pleasure to have business and dealings with students because students are very direct, as you know. And they also feel the rhythm of civilization as it's changing.

When we were guests of the Bushes in Crawford, Texas, we also were given an opportunity to meet with young people. I think this will become a very fine tradition.

President Bush. That's right.

President Putin. And I think Mr. Bush also was waiting for this opportunity, because he asked me several times about this possibility. Well, George Bush and I don't know each other for that long; I think it's a little bit less than 2 years. But what we're trying to do is establish the environment which would be very conducive to having people in both of our countries meet, have opportunities to make contacts, and get along better.

I don't want this to sound like a major report here, but I just want to inform you that we have just signed two major agreements between our two countries. One of them is having to do with the reduction in strategic arms of the two countries, and the other one is called an agreement on a new strategic relationship between the two countries. As we all know, people are divided into two groups, optimists and pessimists, and the pessimists will always find something wrong. Optimists, however, will find in these two documents that we signed a lot of things that are very useful and beneficial.

But it's wonderful to deal with young people because, by their very nature, they're optimists and they look into the future. And that's why we're here, among other things.

So today, when we were coming to the conclusion of our visit to the Hermitage—and we were running late so we were in a hurry—Mr. Piotrovsky, who really had very little time, said, “By the way, before we leave I want to show you a portrait,” which was a portrait of our great Tsaritsa Catherine the Great. And Mr. Bush, without missing a beat, said, “Oh, and by the way, where is the portrait of Potemkin?” [Laughter]

So when you ask questions, I ask you to give me the easy questions and give Mr. Bush the tough questions. [Laughter] And with pleasure, I give the word to George Bush.

President Bush. Thank you very much. Madam President, thank you for your hospitality. Laura and I are honored to be here at this famous university. I'm particularly pleased to be coming to this university because it is the alma mater of your President

and my friend, Vladimir Putin. But even more importantly, it is Mrs. Putin's alma mater. [Laughter]

The President was talking about a seminar on international relations. I guess this is the most sophisticated seminar on international relations that you could possibly have. So I'll give you a quick insight as to what it's like to be involved with international relations.

There we were, as guests of the Putins in their private home last night. We talked about our families; we talked about our passions; we talked about matters of life that friends would talk about. The best international relations start when people care about the other person, when they try to figure out how the other person thinks and what makes the other person's life go forward. We've had a lot of negotiations, of course. But the thing that impressed me the most about the President and his wife was how much they loved their daughters. That's a universal value. It's an impressive value.

When I got out of college in 1968, America and the Soviet Union were enemies—bitter enemies. Today, America and Russia are friends. It's important for you to know that that era is long gone as far as I'm concerned. The treaty we signed says a lot about nuclear arms. It speaks about the need for peace, but it also says the cold war is over, and America and Russia need to be and will be friends, for the good of the world.

And so it's my honor to come. I look forward to answering your questions. Since Vladimir went here to St. Petersburg, it only seems fair that the hard ones go to him. [Laughter] We'll be glad to handle your questions.

Russia's Brain Drain

Q. [Inaudible]—from the Sociology Department, and the question is: Everyone knows what the brain drain problem is, and it is an open secret that the traffic of brain drain is mostly oriented to the United States. I wonder what the Presidents of these two countries think about this problem.

President Putin. I'll tell you right away: He'll say it's good; I'll say it's bad. [Laughter] But if you look at it a little more deeply, I'll get a little more serious and give you some

more detail. There are two methods for stopping this occurrence: First of all, close the country down once again and create such regulatory conditions where people will lose the right to move freely; second is, in a free economy, to create economic conditions, conditions of prosperity for all those people so that they wish to stay here and work. And I think we have to take the second path.

President Bush. I—first of all, there's a lot of brains in this room, and you get to decide whether there's a brain drain in Russia. I tell Vladimir all the time—I mean, Mr. President all the time—that Russia's most precious resource is the brainpower of this country. And you've got a lot of it. It's going to take a lot of brains in Russia to create a drain. There are plenty of bright and smart people in Russia. Your history says that. I'm absolutely convinced that the future of this country is incredibly bright, first, because of the great imagination and intellect of the Russian people, and second, because you've got a leader who understands that freedom is going to enhance the future of this country.

You need to know that my view of foreign relations is not only to promote peace, but it's also to work with our friends the Russians so that the quality of life in both our countries improves.

And so, finally, your question had a little bit of a slightly pessimistic tone to it—only slightly. I'm optimistic about Russia, and a strong and prosperous and peaceful Russia is good for America.

Future of the Russian Economy

Q. [*Inaudible*]*—*from the Department of Economics, and I would like to ask this question: We are involved in high technology exports, and my question in fact is, when will the time come when the bulk of the exports from Russia would be high technology and high-technology products, and not the primary products like oil and wood as the situation is now?

President Bush. Good question.

President Putin. It's a very professional question. And you, as an economist, understand very well that this situation did not just happen yesterday. The world market demands those products that are competitive. And the things that you mentioned, the high-

tech kinds of things that you mentioned are in great demand in the world marketplace. And it's a no-brainer to understand that there were the kinds of talent and the kinds of products in the old Soviet Union that, in fact, had been in demand, because the best brains were directed precisely in that direction in those days.

One of these areas, for instance, is missile technology, and our cooperation with the United States in this area can be measured in the billions of U.S. dollar equivalents. And during this summit, we dedicated a substantial portion of our discussion time precisely to this issue, which I consider very important if we are to remove many of the things that are obstacles in allowing high tech to come into Russia. And these obstacles and limitations were placed upon us back in the days of the Soviet Union and by their very inertia continue on and on.

Therefore, many of the products come into Russia from third countries, from Europe, from Asia, and not from the United States. We think that it's not good for our bilateral relations with the United States. We have to do better. And that's why a great amount of time was spent by President Bush and myself in trying to find ways to remove these obstacles. We also spent a lot of time thinking about what we, ourselves, have to do internally in Russia to help get rid of these obstacles.

But since we have the high-level esteemed guest in our midst, let me just direct our question to our bilateral affairs, and that is, what we need above all for Russia is an absolutely nondiscriminatory access to world markets and to U.S. markets. And we don't need preferences; we don't need subsidies; we don't need special favors. We just want normal, simple, ordinary, fair trade relations.

President Bush. The role of Government is not to create wealth. The role of Government is to create an environment in which the entrepreneur or small business or dreamer can flourish. And that starts with rule of law, respect of private property, less regulatory burdens on the entrepreneur, open banking laws so that all people have access to capital, and good tax policy.

Private ownership in Russia is a little more than 70 percent. That's a significant change.

More and more people are owning small business. That's incredibly important, because that phenomenon makes sure that the elites don't control the economy.

There's one piece of good news about Russian taxation, and one that I learned about yesterday, which Vladimir and I haven't had much time to talk about, that's troubling. The good news is that the flat tax in Russia is a good, fair tax—much more fair, by the way, than many Western countries, I might add.

I am worried when I heard that some Russian goods—there is an export tax on Russian goods. And the trouble with that, of course, is that no matter how good your goods are, if you price yourself out of the market, no one is going to buy. So that's a barrier. There's also barriers coming from Western countries that we've got to eliminate. Export controls on high-tech goods are problematic, that we're now reviewing in the United States.

And very briefly, it is very important for the infrastructure to be modernized as quickly as possible, so that information from around the world moves quickly, freely throughout Russia, so that an entrepreneur such as yourself are able to learn from other entrepreneurs being connected through the Internet, which is going to be a great source of ideas and potential wealth for Russia.

Okay.

Russia-U.S. Relations

Q. [*Inaudible*]*—*from the Foreign Affairs Department, and the question is addressed to President Bush: What is the image of—*[inaudible]**—*that exists in the United States setup, and how this image of—*[inaudible]**—*influences—

Audience member. Image of Russia.

Audience member. Image of Russians.

President Bush. Image of Russia in the United States?

Q. —what image of Russia—Russians exists in the American political setup, and how this image of the Russians influences the taking of decisions in the area of American foreign politics?

President Putin. This guy is very tricky; he's a very tricky young fellow. Mr. President, he's going to listen to your answer,

write a dissertation, and get a degree. [*Laughter*]

President Bush. Most Americans—by far, the vast majority of Americans are very pleased by the fact that the United States and Russia is entering into a new era. We've got a new war to fight together. We're joined to fight against bloodthirsty killers. These people hate freedom. They hate multiethnic societies. They can't stand religion. And it's a threat to America, and this is a threat to Russia, as you all so well know. In this country you've been hit by terrorist acts like we have been hit by terrorist acts.

The American people truly appreciate the cooperative spirit of the Russian Government and truly appreciate the sympathies of the Russian people for what took place on September the 11th.

It's an interesting question about leadership. Does a leader lead, or does a leader follow? Does a leader lead opinion, or does a leader try to chase public opinion? My view is, the leader leads. And my administration, along with Secretary of State Powell and National Security Adviser Rice, are going to do everything we possibly can do to make relations with Russia strong and friendly and cooperative and productive for both people.

Good foreign policy—good foreign policy sets a foundation that is so firm that it won't crack if one nation or the other gets weak in the commitment to friendship. And we're laying a strong foundation.

President Putin. I have to say that we have political leaders, we have public leaders, we have journalists. Our journalists and people who are specialized in the ministry, for instance, of international relations and foreign affairs and other specialists, in many other departments and agencies, confirm what President Bush has just said.

President Bush. Yes, ma'am. Sorry.

Q. The student of the Management Department, and the question is addressed to President Putin: Our countries have lived through quite different relations. While in the Second World War we had one type of relations, relations very close and friendly; and then the cold war came. And my question is, as a result of this evolution of relationships, what is the state of our relationship between these two countries now?

President Putin. You're studying management, right? Are there any people from the History Department? And I think the people from the History Department will probably support me in saying—in my saying the following: The World War II period and the cold war period were but two of the most contrasting and sharpest examples of the evolution of our relations. But we can talk about a lot of different episodes in our cooperation.

But it really began in the times of the Revolutionary War in the United States. At that time, the Crown of England appealed to Catherine the Great and asked for support in quelling the rebellion in the United States. And the Russian sovereign turned and said, that's not what we're all about, and declared a military neutrality vis-a-vis the war. And this neutrality played a significant role in the—allowing the United States to gain its independence and gain its foundation.

And today I'm going to present to President George Bush two very interesting documents, two original documents having to do with the earliest days of our diplomatic correspondence between our two countries.

The world was changing over time; our relations were changing over time. Today, for instance, the United States is our number one trading partner for Russia, both in terms of the number of goods that are traded and also in terms of the accumulated investments that we have from the United States in Russia. The United States is a great and powerful power and has an economy that is powerful enough to a great extent to determine world economics.

For decades, we voluntarily, on our own, created walls and barriers around ourselves and decided to live alone within these walls. And in a time when high technology is absolutely mandatory to the beneficial development of any country, this circumstance today is just unforgivable. And today, in the realms of national security, international security, economics, trade, we now are beginning to blend in together with the world economy at large.

You can call our relations today a multi-component kind of a relationship depending on many, many different aspects. But I want to name the one and most important aspect.

Over the last year and a half or 2 years, what we've experienced is a huge growth in confidence and trust manifested between our two countries. And it is precisely this distinguishing characteristic which colors our relationship.

If you're sitting next to the First Lady of the United States, I can't say you can't have a question. [Laughter]

Leadership

Q. The lady is from the Management Department, and she addresses her question to both of you gentlemen: To make up a manager, many factors are involved. What were those factors that shaped you as leaders, as managers?

President Bush. I understand a leader can't do everything. And so, therefore, a leader must be willing to surround himself, in my case, with smart, capable, honorable people. A leader must be willing to listen, and then a leader must be decisive enough to make a decision and stick by it.

In politics, in order to lead, you've got to know what you believe. You have to stand on principle. You have to believe in certain values, and you must defend them at all costs. A politician who takes a poll to figure out what to believe is a politician who is constantly going to be trying to lead through—it's like a dog chasing its tail.

And finally, any leader must—in order to lead, must understand, must have a vision about where you're going. You must set clear goals and convince people of those goals and constantly lead toward those goals.

And finally, you've got to treat people with respect on your team. And by respecting people, they become—they become better members of the team and, therefore, give better advice and work toward the same goal.

President Putin. To be successful in any kind of business, in any kind of enterprise, you have to have two qualities: You have to have a sense of responsibility, and you have to have a sense of love.

Unfortunately, we have to come to an end here. Somebody is going to start crying back there if they don't get a question.

Russia and the World Trade Organization

[At this point, the questioner spoke in Russian, and a translation was not immediately provided.]

President Putin. I did the right thing by giving the question to her; she's asking President Bush instead. *[Laughter]*

[At this point, the questioner spoke in Russian, and a translation was not immediately provided.]

President Putin. Great question, WTO.

Q. The question is for President Bush from—*[inaudible]*—from the Department of International Relations: What specific and concrete steps can we expect from the United States in order to support our accession to the World Trade Organization?

President Bush. Starting with having a President who thinks you ought to be in the WTO—and I think you ought to be. And I think the accession to the WTO ought to be based upon the rules that every other nation has had to live up to, nothing harsher, nothing less harsh.

And I've told Vladimir in private and I've told the American people, I'm for Russia going into the WTO, just like I've asked—just like I asked Congress yesterday once in a press conference in Russia to get rid of Jackson-Vanik.

So, to answer your questions, I vote aye, assuming that the President—the Russian Government continues to reform her economy, open it up, make market-based economy work. And that's exactly what the intentions of this President—that's the intention of this President.

President Putin. George said it very well. The President of Russia has to want to be a member of the WTO. And he said that he's for it. If that's sufficient, I'm in. *[Laughter]* But on conditions acceptable to Russia. *[Laughter]*

Dear friends, I want to thank you. I would like to thank you for the warm and friendly atmosphere in which we were, and it is of great importance for me personally, because indeed I want very much our dear guests to enjoy my native city. And although, of course, our movements create some hurdles for the

movement of other people in the streets of Moscow, but, as George pointed out, the people are not very cross with us, since they wave their hands at us and smile at us. *[Laughter]* And today we had a friendly and kind atmosphere here, and the questions were in that spirit. And I am grateful to you for that.

And as I promised, I would like to hand over to President Bush the copies of the first diplomatic documents. And these documents actually initiated—they started the diplomatic letters exchanged between our two countries, and they date back to 1780.

President Bush. Thank you all very much.

NOTE: The remarks began at 3:17 p.m. in the school's Ceremonial Hall. President Putin spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. President Putin referred to Anatoly Sobchak, former mayor of St. Petersburg, Russia; and Mikhail B. Piotrovsky, director, State Hermitage Museum. President Bush referred to Ludmila Alekseyevna Verbitskaya, rector, St. Petersburg State University; and President Putin's wife, Lyudmila. President Bush also referred to the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which places restrictions on normalized trade relations between the U.S. and Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union based on their economic structure and emigration policies. A portion of these remarks could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

Remarks and an Exchange With Reporters Following a Tour of the Choral Synagogue in St. Petersburg May 26, 2002

Freedom of Religion in Russia

The President. Good morning, everybody.

Q. Good morning, Mr. President.

The President. Today we've had a—a beautiful morning. We've been to a church and a synagogue. One of the nonnegotiable demands of individual dignity is freedom of religion, and I'm impressed by what I've heard from religious leaders, Christian and Jewish, here about the state of affairs in Russia.

We went to a cathedral that up until recently was a museum of atheism, and today it's a place where people can worship God

freely. We've been to a synagogue that was, even though open, was not a welcoming sight for many Russians, and today it is a spectacular place for people to gather and worship an Almighty God—and worship an Almighty God freely.

And one of my strong beliefs is that people should be free to worship, and I'm pleased that that's taking place here in Russia. It's important for this country that religious freedom flourish and there be tolerance of all faiths.

And it's been a very rewarding morning for Laura and me, and we want to thank our hosts and thank the Russian people. Last night I was very impressed and pleased to see so many Russians lining the streets, and they were so welcoming to the American delegation. We're making great progress in our strides toward freedom—I mean, toward friendship and our mutual respect of freedom. Thank you for your hospitality.

Situation in South Asia

Q. Mr. President, yesterday Pakistan went ahead with their planned missile tests.

The President. Yes.

Q. Do you think that has had any impact on the situation there? And do you believe this is something they should have gone forward with at this point in time?

The President. As you know, we expressed our strong reservations about the tests. Obviously, we hope that there is restraint in the area, that that not be viewed as a provocation. We're continuing to work the diplomatic channels, as are other nations. I mean, everybody understands the danger of a serious conflict in the region. And slowly but surely we can erode the distrust that has arisen in the area so that they can——

Q. Do you think the situation is as tense and dangerous there now as it was in January, where in hindsight it appears they came very close to an armed conflict?

The President. I think that any time you have countries with nuclear arms, that a tension, serious tension is dangerous. And it's hard for me to measure the degree of tension. Let's just say it's tense now, and it was tense then. So we've just got to continue to work the problem, and we will. I'm hopeful that we'll be able to defuse the situation.

Reform of the Palestinian Authority

Q. Mr. President, are you inclined to agree with your advisers who say that we should deal with Chairman Arafat, or those who think he should be frozen out?

The President. Well, you know, I get all kinds of advice. People know my opinion about Chairman Arafat, and that is that he has let the Palestinian people down. He hasn't delivered. He had a chance to secure the peace as a result of the hard work of President Clinton, and he didn't. He's had a chance to fight terror, and he hasn't. Evidently there's a new attitude emerging among some of the leadership in the Palestinian Authority, and the answer is, we'll see. We'll see if he can deliver.

The key for the—for peace in the region, as far as I'm concerned, is for the Arab world to continue to fight terror, to do what they say they're going to do—we believe that that's happening more than ever—and that we develop the institutions necessary so that a Palestinian state can emerge that will be at peace with Israel. And that start—first step is to have a security force that actually keeps the security, as well as, the reforms ought to align authority and responsibility so people can be held to account for success or failure.

Q. I just want to follow up and make sure I understand what you are saying, when you're saying that apparently there's a new attitude in the Palestinian Authority and we'll see. Are you——

The President. Well, you're beginning to see talk of reform. You know, if you read the press accounts, there's—people are beginning to question out loud as to why there hasn't been success. One of the things that we've been trying to do is to say people must be responsible. My speech on April 4th called upon—outlined the responsibilities necessary to achieve peace.

So I'm beginning to hear—this is publicly I'm beginning to hear, I might add—discussion about, “Well, maybe we ought to assess how to make the Palestinian Authority more accountable,” and that's what I was referring to.

Q. But you're not referring to any good words or deeds you're seeing out of—seeing out of Arafat. So are you saying that the time has now run out on Arafat and we're not

going to deal with him, or he's still got a chance to do it right?

The President. No, what I'm saying is that what we need to do is develop the institutions necessary for there to be a responsible Palestinian state. And it starts with security.

One of the things that's interesting is, when you talk to European leaders, there's an interest about helping the Palestinian people—the Palestinians with economic development, but it's hard to promote economic development when there is concerns about graft and corruption. And so there needs to be—there needs to be institutions that will be transparent, institutions that will hold people responsible for the expenditure of money, institutions necessary to make sure that the good hearts of the world, when they apply to the Palestinian people, will be met with good results.

Q. Can I follow on Ron's [Ron Fournier, Associated Press] question?

Q. Sir——

Director of Central Intelligence George J. Tenet's Upcoming Visit to the Middle East

Q. Is Director Tenet going back to the region this coming week?

The President. You've had a big day today, Stretch [Richard Keil, Bloomberg News]—three questions.

Q. It's because he's taller, you know.

Q. That's a pool, because we all want to ask that one, though.

The President. He's also booming. He's also booming out there with his question, butting in. No—anyway—[laughter]——

Q. My apologies to Patsy [Patricia Wilson, Reuters].

The President. Poor Patsy, here she is trying to be dignified——

Q. That was my question, anyway.

The President. It was your question?

Q. Yes, I was trying to be dignified.

The President. Well, would you like to ask it, so you can——

Q. Sir, is Director Tenet going back to the region next week? [Laughter]

The President. As you know, I expressed—I said that I was going to send Director Tenet back to the region. I haven't changed my mind.

Q. Next week?

Russia's Role in the Middle East

Q. [Inaudible]—the role of Russia on the Middle East question?

The President. Well, President Putin has been very helpful. And he's been helpful because he has—he has insisted that there be accountability and responsibility in the region. And he has been a—he makes it very clear that the Russian Government is—rejects any kind of terrorist activities that disrupts the peace process, in a very strong voice for reason and for reasonable policy, and I appreciate that a lot.

Thank you all.

Q. This week for Director Tenet?

The President. See you in France.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:49 a.m. outside the synagogue. In his remarks, he referred to Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority; and President Vladimir Putin of Russia. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

The President's News Conference With President Jacques Chirac of France in Paris, France

May 26, 2002

President Chirac. Ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon. Welcome here. Welcome to all of you here this afternoon. Of course, I extend a special welcome to the members of the press who have come with President Bush.

Can I, first of all, say how pleased I am that we'll have the opportunity to welcome on his first trip to France the President of the United States and his wife. It's, of course, a great pleasure for me to welcome them, and I think it's also a great pleasure for all the people of France to welcome them. And that is something that I wanted to say in no uncertain terms.

We had this afternoon a working session. We'll meet again over dinner. Tomorrow, as all of you know, President Bush will be in Normandy. And I think it's very moving for me and for the people of France to know that, for the first time ever, if I'm not mistaken, the President of the United States will

not be in the United States on Memorial Day, and that on this occasion the President will come and pay a solemn tribute to the great number of young American servicemen who gave up their lives to fight for France, for Europe, for freedom.

This fight for freedom, for liberty, is a constant fight, a fight that we all engage in, a fight that is a bond between the peoples of both sides of the Atlantic, a fight that is pursued still today under very specific ties, the fight against terrorism.

We exchanged views. We had an intense, candid, friendly exchange of views. And I think this echoes and epitomizes the nature of the dialog that we have had ever since President Bush's election, in the number of contacts we have had either in Europe or when I have been to the United States. I think the last time we met was when we both were in Monterrey, in Mexico, and also over the phone.

We mentioned a number of issues: the fight against terrorism—and in this respect, we have a similar understanding of what is being done and what should be done to fight and eradicate terrorism. We both know that terrorism still exists, that it can be active anywhere, at any time, and that, therefore, all the leaders across the world must pay great attention to this issue and be determined to eradicate terrorism.

We also mentioned strategic issues. In this respect, we paid special attention to the change and the developments in the relationship between the U.S. and Russia. And we welcome this change. Russia is a major nation, a great nation. And I think that the relationship between Russia and the U.S. are crucial in the world today.

On Tuesday, in Rome, we will have an opportunity to set in stone this change in the relationship, to act upon also the new treaty that has been signed between both Presidents in Moscow yesterday. We have an opportunity to make more concrete the relationship between NATO and Russia. And as you know, for a long time, the French position has been that the relationship between Russia and NATO should be strengthened. And you might even remember that the founding act was signed here in 1997, even though it didn't have quite the consequences

that we could have expected. This being said, nowadays Russia—from now on, Russia will be closer involved. And this will be the results of the NATO council in 2 days' time in Rome.

We also mentioned, of course, the list of strategic issues, the fight against proliferation—proliferation in a number of regions across the world. We also mentioned the relationship between France and the U.S. and, of course, the relationship between the EU and the U.S. These relationships are very good at a political level. They are instrumental for the equilibrium and the balance of our world. At an economic level, they're essential, instrumental in the good health of the global economy. There can be, indeed, no balance in our world if there is no strong relationship between the U.S. and the EU.

We also spoke about issues where we have diverging views: trade issues, for instance; the farming bill, for instance. And in this respect, the President said that there might have been—there could have been a misunderstanding of what the goals of the farming bill was, a misunderstanding here in France and in other places, maybe. But I think that this means that we have to have more consultation, more consultation between the U.S. and the EU. We also, of course, mentioned steel.

These are, of course, very real issues, and real answers have to be given to these problems, after consultation and intense dialog. But can I just remind you that these differences, these diverging views only account for 5 percent of the trade between the EU and the U.S. Of course, that's important, but we have to have a look at the greater picture and have a sense of perspective.

We also mentioned a number of other issues in which we have slight divergence of views: environment, for instance; the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol. And I, personally, stressed the fact that there was a very real danger, a very real risk in going on consuming more of our planet than the Earth can actually produce. And I think that all of us know that these are very real issues and that we have to go on talking, discussing, and working together on these issues. And I'm sure—I'm convinced that we will find the right ways to produce, to consume, new ways to do so. And I think all the new technologies

that are being developed nowadays will enable us to do so, while at the same time, consuming less of our natural resources and better control of pollution. Of course, these issues are being discussed in other fora.

We also discussed globalization. And I said that, yes, of course, globalization is unavoidable and is positive, because it increases trade and thus production and thus wealth and thus the number of jobs that there are across the world. This being said, there is a necessity that we have to bear in mind, and that is controlling globalization so that the development of the people in other countries is protected. So what I am saying is that globalization in trade has to go hand in hand with globalization of solidarity.

We will be, this evening, mentioning a number of other issues, international crisis, for instance: the Middle East; the topical issues, the tension between India and Pakistan; be talking about Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, the Balkans, and Africa. We'll be talking about Africa in the context of the new relationship that is currently being developed in the relationship between rich and poor countries.

We've already, in a way, touched upon these issues. And I wanted to—I did stress when we were talking with President Bush that as a long-time advocate of aid to poor countries and relationship between poor and rich countries, what I stressed is that for a very long time, these issues haven't been considered properly and that in Genoa we had, for the first time, a very real discussion about Africa. And that will be what we should remember of Genoa, although people will remember other things of the Genoa summit.

And I think that this was partly do to the initiative taken by President Bush that gave us a real opportunity to talk about development—development at large and development of Africa, more specifically. And this also enabled us to move from a situation where we give assistance to Africa, to a situation where we have a partnership with Africa. And that also is one of the goals of our next meeting in the G-7 format in Kananaskis, in Canada, where we will talk about the NEPAD. We also spoke of some local situations about in Africa.

So all that is what we've done today. We've spoken in a very understanding and friendly atmosphere.

President Bush. It's true. [Laughter]

I am honored to be here in France. It's my first trip as the President to this beautiful country and to this beautiful capital. I always find it a great joy to talk with Jacques Chirac. He's a—it's not hard to figure out where he stands on issues, and he's a good friend. He's a friend to me, personally. He's a friend to my country, and for that, I'm grateful.

I'm also looking forward to going to Normandy tomorrow. We do believe this is the first time a President has been out of the country for Memorial Day. I'm looking forward to giving a speech. Memorial Day in my country is a day to honor those who have sacrificed for freedom, given their lives. Many died in France, and I'm looking forward to the moment to share my country's appreciation.

And we—in the talk, I'm going to talk about—there's been current—modern-day sacrifices. We still fight people who hate civilization. It was—or at least, civilization that we love; they can't stand freedom—it was President Chirac who was the first head of state to visit me in the White House right after September the 11th. I was very grateful for that visit. As he, himself, said, that we're in a fight to defend civilization, and I couldn't agree more with him. And I want to thank the French people for not only the sympathy shown for my country after September the 11th but the strong support in the war against terror.

Jacques and I spent a lot of time talking about how to better fight this fight, and that's not just in military terms. I speak in terms of doing a better job of cutting off money to terrorists, denying them safe haven, and as we fight for a safer world, how to make the world a better world. And one of the things I really admire about—I guess I should call you President Chirac—President Chirac is that you've had this great compassion for the developing world, and I appreciate your compassion, and I appreciate your heart. It's important that we continue to work together to make sure that there is a strategy in place to help people develop and grow and prosper.

I'm looking forward to the dinner. He's always saying that the food here is fantastic, and I'm going to give him a chance to show me tonight. And I also look forward to continuing our discussions on important issues, like how to make sure NATO works better, how best to continue to work with our friends in Russia, how we can work together to—in the Middle East to bring peace to that part of the world. I appreciate this good man's advice. I listen carefully to it when he gives it, and I'm proud to call him friend.

Thank you for your hospitality.

President Chirac. Thank you.

Situation in South Asia

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned this morning that you had expressed strong reservations to President Musharraf about the missile test in Pakistan. I'm wondering, sir, whether your administration actually asked President Musharraf not to conduct those tests, and second, whether you regard the escalating conflict there as a threat to U.S. forces in the region? And finally, as tomorrow is the first Memorial Day since 9/11, can you say to the American people how this Memorial Day will be somehow different from those past?

And President Chirac, you mentioned in your opening comments that the response to the President's strategic initiative with Russia from a year ago had not been what you had anticipated. Do you think that perhaps the Europeans overreacted a year ago to what President Bush was proposing to do with Russia? And were you suggesting, sir, that perhaps you underestimated this President?

President Bush. Like everybody else. [Laughter] Pakistan—yes, we expressed deep concern, and we'll continue to express concern about testing and our—I'm more concerned about making sure that—insisting, along with other world leaders, that—including the President of France—that President Musharraf show results in terms of stopping people from crossing the line of control, stopping terrorism. That's what's more important than the missile testing, is that he perform.

I'm jet lagged—what's the first couple of questions?

Q. The second one, sir, was I was wondering if the escalating conflict posed a threat to U.S. forces in the region.

President Bush. I would certainly hope not. Third? Is that it? [Laughter]

Memorial Day

Q. Memorial Day.

President Bush. Oh, Memorial Day. Thanks. That's what happens when you're over 55. [Laughter] You know what I mean. Let me say one quick thing about Memorial Day.

All Memorial Days are solemn days, particularly for those who mourn the loss of a loved one. All Memorial Days are days in which Americans ought to give thanks for freedom and the fact that somebody sacrificed for their freedom. This Memorial Day is the first Memorial Day in a long time in which younger Americans know firsthand the price that was paid for their freedom.

President Chirac. On that very last point, can I maybe just say that it really is very moving for all the people of France and Europeans at large to see that President Bush—that the President of the United States will be for the first time outside the United States on Memorial Day and that he come to Normandy to pay tribute to all those—many American—who gave their lives for freedom. This, I think, is a very strong gesture that we will not forget.

Maybe a question for a French journalist? Yes.

France's Role in the War on Terrorism

Q. Mr. President, Mr. Bush, after your trip to Russia, what would be for you a more decisive ally in your war against terrorism? Would it be Russia or this little corner of this continent which is called Western Europe? And please, Mr. President, don't say "both"—this wouldn't be the beginning of an answer.

President Bush. Both. [Laughter] What was that? I didn't get the full question. I got "Russia," and I got "this little corner of Europe." But what was the question? Who do I rely on more?

Q. What is for you the more decisive ally in your war against terrorism?

President Bush. Decisive ally? Ally? Decisive ally? Of course, Jacques Chirac.

[*Laughter*] I—listen, thank you for the trick question. Let me talk about this ally. The phone rang the day after the attack—the day of the attack. I can't remember exactly when, but it was immediately. And he said, "I'm your friend." On this continent, France takes the lead in helping to hunt down people who want to harm America and/or the French or anybody else.

We've shared intelligence in a way that is really important. One of the most important things in fighting the war on terror is to understand how the enemy thinks and when the enemy might strike. And make no mistake about it, they'd like to strike again. You know, some people would wish that their thoughts go away. These are coldblooded killers, and it requires strong cooperation to protect our citizens. My most important job—and I suspect Jacques feels the same way—is to protect our citizens from further attack. And it's—we've got no stronger ally in that task. I mean, he is willing to take steps necessary, obviously within the laws and Constitution of this country, just like I'm within the Constitution of mine, to protect our people. And for that, I'm very grateful, Mr. President.

I'll call on the Americans.

President Chirac. An American journalist, maybe?

Russia and Iran

Q. Yes, sir. You said in Russia that President Putin had offered some assurances about Russian sales of nuclear energy technology to Iran that we would find comforting. Aside from his statement that Russia doesn't want Iran to have nuclear weapons, what did you find comforting? And secondly, President Putin also argued that the plant he's building there is quite similar to the one and others have offered to build in North Korea. Is that accurate, sir?

And President Chirac, you mentioned that the two of you were talking about proliferation matters. Do you also have concerns about Russia's relations with Iran?

President Bush. Well, first, I think it's important to understand that President Putin understands that an Iran that's got the capacity to launch a missile is dangerous for him and his country. He understands that.

Secondly—and we had a very frank discussion about the potential—or the development of a nuclear powerplant that he is convinced will not lead to the spread of technologies that will enable Iran to develop weapons of mass destruction, and is willing to allow for international inspection teams to determine whether that's true or not. And we're thinking about what he told us.

Q. And the plant in North Korea, sir, is that different from the one he's building in Iran?

President Bush. As I say, we're thinking about what he told us.

Q. President Chirac?

President Chirac. I share, unreservedly, the position outlined by President Bush, by George.

French journalist?

Iraq/Situation in the Middle East

Q. France would like to see the Middle East peace conference convene the quickest possible, and the U.S. to do—to act for it. May we know, what are your forecasts for this Middle East conference, and when do you think it will happen, and if president Arafat will be participating in such a conference? Also, I would like to know, if possible, what are your plans for the Iraqi regime? Are you really willing to change the Iraqi regime, and how?

President Bush. Okay. Whew, a lot of questions here. Let me start with the Iraqi regime. The stated policy of my Government is that we have a regime change. And as I told President Chirac, I have no war plans on my desk. And I will continue to consult closely with him. We do view Saddam Hussein as a serious, significant—serious threat to stability and peace.

In terms of the Middle East, this week we will be sending American officials back into the region to work with the parties, to have a political dialog, start a political dialog, as well as develop a security force within the Palestinian Authority that can—will function like a security force, actually do what they're supposed to do.

And in terms of meetings, conferences, our view is, is that we need to develop a strategy, to continue working with our Arab

friends on that strategy, and then the Secretary will be convening a ministerial conference sometime this summer. Obviously, depending upon the progress being made and how much progress we are making toward establishment of the institutions necessary for a Palestinian state to evolve, that progress will determine how many conferences are necessary until we eventually get to, hopefully, the end of the process.

My Government and I, personally, strongly believe that it's in everybody's interest that there be two states, living side by side in peace. And that's the vision we work toward. The good news is, is that many in the Arab world are now working with us to help create an environment so we can get to that—to those two states. And to that end, I viewed the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia's declaration of a—declaration that Israel should live in peace with its neighbors is incredibly important breakthrough. And we're seizing that initiative and seizing that opportunity to work together.

President Chirac. Last question, for the American press, maybe?

President's Visit to Europe

Q. You said in reaction to demonstrations against you and your administration during this trip in Europe that it's simply a healthy democracy exercising its will, and that disputes are positive. But I wonder why it is you think there are strong—such strong sentiments in Europe against you and against this administration? Why, particularly, there's a view that you and your administration are trying to impose America's will on the rest of the world, particularly when it comes to the Middle East and where the war on terrorism goes next?

[At this point, the reporter asked the rest of his question in French, and the interpreter translated it as follows.]

Q. And Mr. President, would you maybe comment on that?

President Bush. Very good. The guy memorizes four words, and he plays like he's intercontinental. [Laughter]

Q. I can go on.

President Bush. Yes, I'm impressed. *Que bueno.* Now I'm literate in two languages. [Laughter]

So you go to a protest, and I drive through the streets of Berlin seeing hundreds of people lining the road, waving. And I'm—look, the only thing I know to do is speak my mind, to talk about my values, to talk about our mutual love for freedom and the willingness to defend freedom. And David [David Gregory, NBC News], I think a lot of people on the continent of Europe appreciate that, appreciate the fact that we're friends, appreciate the fact that we've got—we work together, that there's a heck of a lot more that unites us than divides us. We share the same values; we trade \$2 trillion a year. I mean, there's—so I don't view hostility here. I view the fact we've got a lot of friends here, and I'm grateful for the friendship. And the fact that protestors show up, that's good. I mean, I'm in a democracy. I'm traveling to a country that respects other people's points of view.

But I feel very comfortable coming to Europe; I feel very comfortable coming to France, I've got a lot of friends here.

Q. Sir, if I could just follow—

President Bush. Thank you.

President Chirac. Look, the demonstrations you've been referring to, sir, are indeed, as the President has just said, healthy and normal in democracies. That is one of the means of expression that people have. And it's only normal and important that people should respect that. Of course, there are limits; there are constraints that have to be enforced, and that is what is being done. But I think that it is only normal that, in the face of a very important political event, those who have a different understanding of things should express their diverging view.

The right to demonstrate is a fundamental right intertwined with democracy. And there's no need to tell Americans about that; they know it. But what I just wanted to say is that these demonstrations are really marginal demonstrations, that you shouldn't give too much credit to these demonstrations. They do not reflect a so-called natural aversion of such-and-such a people in Europe to the President of the United States or to the U.S. people as a whole.

Yes, we do have diverging views on this or that issue; it's only normal. And that is the result of interests, of our national interests, and they're not always converging. And I think it's only healthy that these demonstrations should occur, that we should express our diverging points of views, and that we should find democratic answers to these questions.

As for the relationship between Europe and the United States, it is a very old relationship, as you know. It is a fundamental relationship for the balance—for the equilibrium of our world. But I would also add that it's an increasingly important relationship, and it's—it would be the sign of shortsightedness to refuse to acknowledge that.

The United States and Europe are the two major economic powers in our world. And in our world the economy drives social progress. Economic power helps express political power. So I think that there is a very real, a deep-rooted link between Europe and the United States, and that's—the bedrock of that link, the roots of that link is the shared values that we have together. And that must be used to guarantee the balance of our world, the stability of our world.

And that's precisely why we welcome the trip of an American President in Europe—President Bush, in this case. But generally, a statement of generalities would be to say that we welcome a visit by the President of the United States because it shows the solidarity between the two sides of the pond, the two sides of the Atlantic, something that is fundamental for the stability of our world.

Well, thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

NOTE: The President's news conference began at 5:03 p.m. at Elysee Palace. President Chirac spoke in French, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. In his remarks, President Bush referred to President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan; President Vladimir Putin of Russia; President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; and Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia. President Chirac referred to NEPAD, the New Plan for African Development, a G-8 backed plan for the development of African nations. A reporter referred to Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority.

Remarks at the Sainte Mere Eglise Church in Sainte Mere Eglise, France

May 27, 2002

President Chirac, Mrs. Chirac, Mr. Mayor: Laura and I are so honored to be here. Thank you for your hospitality. We are here to pay tribute to those who sacrificed for freedom, both Americans and the French. It is fitting that we remember those who sacrificed because today we defend our freedoms—we defend our freedoms against people who can't stand freedom.

This defense will require the sacrifice of our forefathers, but it's a sacrifice I can promise you we'll make. It's a sacrifice we'll make for the good of America and for the good of France and for the good of freedom all over the world.

It's an honor to be here. May God bless France, and may God bless America. Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:05 p.m. In his remarks, he referred to President Jacques Chirac of France and his wife, Bernadette; and Mayor Marc Lefevre of Sainte Mere Eglise.

Remarks at a Memorial Day Ceremony in Colleville-sur-Mer, France

May 27, 2002

Mr. President and Mrs. Chirac; Secretary Powell and Secretary Principi; members of the United States Congress; members of the American Armed Services; veterans, family members; fellow Americans and friends: We have gathered on this quiet corner of France as the sun rises on Memorial Day in the United States of America. This is a day our country has set apart to remember what was gained in our wars and all that was lost.

Our wars have won for us every hour we live in freedom. Our wars have taken from us the men and women we honor today and every hour of the lifetimes they had hoped to live.

This day of remembrance was first observed to recall the terrible casualties of the war Americans fought against each other. In

the nearly 14 decades since, our Nation's battles have all been far from home. Here on the continent of Europe were some of the fiercest of those battles, the heaviest losses, and the greatest victories. And in all those victories, American soldiers came to liberate, not to conquer. The only land we claim as our own are the resting places of our men and women.

More than 9,000 are buried here, and many times that number have—of fallen soldiers lay in our cemeteries across Europe and America. From a distance, surveying row after row of markers, we see the scale and heroism and sacrifice of the young. We think of units sustaining massive casualties, men cut down crossing a beach or taking a hill or securing a bridge. We think of many hundreds of sailors lost in their ships.

The war correspondent Ernie Pyle told of a British officer walking across the battlefield just after the violence had ended. Seeing the bodies of American boys scattered everywhere, the officer said, in sort of a hushed eulogy spoken only to himself, "Brave men, brave men."

All who come to a place like this feel the enormity of the loss. Yet, for so many, there is a marker that seems to sit alone. They come looking for that one cross, that one Star of David, that one name. Behind every grave of a fallen soldier is a story of the grief that came to a wife, a mother, a child, a family, or a town.

A World War II orphan has described her family's life after her father was killed on a field in Germany. "My mother," she said, "had lost everything she was waiting for. She lost her dreams. There were an awful lot of perfect linen tablecloths in our house that never got used, so many things being saved for a future that was never to be."

Each person buried here understood his duty but also dreamed of going back home to the people and the things he knew. Each had plans and hopes of his own and parted with them forever when he died.

The day will come when no one is left who knew them, when no visitor to this cemetery can stand before a grave remembering a face and a voice. The day will never come when America forgets them. And our Nation and the world will always remember what they

did here and what they gave here for the future of humanity.

As dawn broke during the invasion, a little boy in the village off of Gold Beach called out to his mother, "Look, the sea is black with boats." Spread out before them and over the horizon were more than 5,000 ships and landing craft. In the skies were some of the 12,000 planes sent on the first day of Operation Overlord. The Battle of Normandy would last many days, but June 6th, 1944, was the crucial day. The late President Francois Mitterrand said that nothing in history compares to D-day. "The 6th of June," he observed, "sounded the hour when history tipped toward the camp of freedom."

Before dawn, the first paratroopers already had been dropped inland. The story is told of a group of French women finding Americans and imploring them not to leave. A trooper said, "We're not leaving. If necessary, this is the place we die."

Units of Army Rangers on shore, in one of history's bravest displays, scaled cliffs directly in the gunfire, never relenting even as comrades died all around them. When they had reached the top, the Rangers radioed back the code for success, "Praise the Lord."

Only a man who was there, charging out of a landing craft, can know what it was like. For the entire liberating force, there was only the ground in front of them—no shelter, no possibility of retreat. They were part of the largest amphibious landing in history and perhaps the only great battle in which the wounded were carried forward. Survivors remember the sight of a Catholic chaplain, Father Joe Lacey, lifting dying men out of the water and comforting and praying with them. Private Jimmy Hall was seen carrying the body of his brother, Johnny, saying, "He can't. He can't be dead. I promised Mother I'd look after him."

Such was the size of the Battle of Normandy: Thirty-eight pairs of brothers died in the liberation, including Bedford and Raymond Hoback of Virginia, both who fell on D-day. Raymond's body was never found. All he left behind was his Bible, discovered in the sand. Their mother asked that Bedford be buried here as well, in the place Raymond

was lost, so her sons would always be together.

On Memorial Day, America honors her own. Yet we also remember all the valiant young men and women from many Allied Nations, including France, who shared in the struggle here and in the suffering. We remember the men and women who served and died alongside Americans in so many terrible battles on this continent and beyond.

Words can only go so far in capturing the grief and sense of loss for the families of those who died in all our wars. For some military families in America and in Europe, the grief is recent, with the losses we have suffered in Afghanistan. They can know, however, that the cause is just. And like other generations, these sacrifices have spared many others from tyranny and sorrow.

Long after putting away his uniform, an American GI expressed his own pride and the truth about all who served, living and dead. He said, "I feel like I played my part in turning this from a century of darkness into a century of light."

Here where we stand today, the new world came back to liberate the old. A bond was formed of shared trial and shared victory. And a light that scattered darkness from these shores and across France would spread to all of Europe, in time turning enemies into friends and the pursuits of war into the pursuits of peace. Our security is still bound up together in a transatlantic alliance, with soldiers in many uniforms defending the world from terrorists at this very hour.

The grave markers here all face west, across an ageless and indifferent ocean to the country these men and women served and loved. The thoughts of America on this Memorial Day turn to them and to all their fallen comrades in arms. We think of them with lasting gratitude. We miss them with lasting love, and we pray for them. And we trust in the words of the Almighty God which are inscribed in the chapel nearby: "I give unto them eternal life, that they shall never perish."

God bless.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:20 p.m. in the Normandy American Cemetery. The Office of the Press Secretary also released a Spanish language transcript of these remarks.

Remarks in Discussions With Secretary General Lord Robertson of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and an Exchange With Reporters in Rome, Italy

May 28, 2002

NATO-Russia Council Meeting

President Bush. This is a historic day.

[At this point, a delegation passed in front of President Bush.]

President Bush. So much for scripting every event. [Laughter]

Secretary General Lord Robertson. [Inaudible]

Q. Sir, is this an historic day? [Laughter]

President Bush. This is an historic morning. No, this is an historic day, and I want to thank Lord Robertson for such great leadership. He recognizes that a Europe whole and free and at peace is an important goal and one that will be more likely to be achieved for years to come by welcoming Russia west. And because of his vision and historic work, today we're signing a document that does just that.

So I want to thank you for your leadership. It's been impressive.

Secretary General Lord Robertson. Thank you very much, Mr. President. The President and I are exactly the same age, and what's happening today turns completely on its head everything we've lived with up to now, because here is the Russian President as an equal, round this table today. So I said that even the table plan is a revolution. [Laughter]

President Bush. That's right.

Situation in the Middle East

Q. Can I ask you about the Middle East, sir?

President Bush. Yes, go ahead.

Q. Your reaction to the suicide attack yesterday? And do you plan to bring a new initiative, maybe a timetable for peace talks to the conference next month—this summer?

President Bush. First, we strongly deplore and condemn terrorist violence. There are people that don't want peace, and therefore they're willing to kill to make sure there is no peace. And all of us, all of us involved

in the process—Arab nations, the Palestinians, Americans, Europeans, Israelis—must do everything we can to stop terrorist action.

We're going forward with our plan. This week Burns will be going to the Middle East; Tenet will be going to the Middle East. Before Tenet leaves, I do want to go back and visit with him. That will be tomorrow morning. And at an appropriate time, we'll announce his schedule. There needs to be a—the implementation of institutions necessary for a state to evolve. And that's exactly what our strategy is. And that's what we're going to work on. And I call upon all nations to uphold their respective responsibilities, to see that that happens. And the first step is to make sure that there's a security force in place that keeps the security.

Modernizing the Military

Q. Lord Robertson, how concerned are you about the so-called capability gap between Europe and the United States in NATO? And how are you going to convince Europeans to boost their defense spending?

President Bush. Well, I should let Lord Robertson talk about that. But he and I have had this discussion a lot. He agrees with me that all militaries ought to be modernized. All militaries need to be modernized to meet the true threats of the 21st century. And we've got some ideas we'd like to share with him and NATO. This man understands the need to modernize militaries. And he's been a visionary in thinking—forward thinking—for NATO.

We've got to modernize our own military, too. As you know, we've been working with Congress to make sure that when we spend money, we spend money on weapons systems that are needed, not weapons systems that have got nice politics attached to it. And I'm speaking starting with the Crusader. And I expect the Crusader not to be in the appropriations—defense appropriations.

Steve [Steve Holland, Reuters], last question.

President's Upcoming Meeting With Pope John Paul II

Q. Sir, what are you going to talk about with the Pope today, and are you going to raise the abuse scandal?

President Bush. I'm going to, first of all, listen carefully to what the Pope has to say. He's a man of enormous dignity and compassion. I will tell him that I am concerned about the Catholic Church in America; I'm concerned about its standing. And I say that because the Catholic Church is an incredibly important institution in our country. And I'm also going to mention the fact that I appreciate the Pope's leadership in trying to strengthen the Catholic Church in America.

[At this point, reporters started to leave the room.]

Modernizing the Military

President Bush. Wait, wait, wait. Modernization.

Secretary General Lord Robertson. I just want to first of all say that the responsibility and the credit for today's meeting, which by any measure is historic, lies with the President of the United States. He took an opportunity; he took the unique cooperation that happened after the 11th of September and made it into something that looks to the future, builds a base for future cooperation with what were the former adversaries. And I want to pay tribute to the President in this regard.

On capabilities, if this Alliance that the President has promoted so vigorously in his speeches this week is going to remain relevant and important to the people on both sides of the Atlantic, then there must be a true transatlantic bargain. The Europeans must do more—spend more and spend more wisely, and the United States must share technology and open export markets and encourage transatlantic reorganization.

So I occasionally stand on toes on both sides of the Atlantic, but that's why I was appointed, and I'll continue to do it until they get 19 people to agree to get rid of me. [Laughter]

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:25 a.m. at the Pratica di Mare Air Force Base. In his remarks, he referred to Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs William J. Burns. Secretary General Lord Robertson referred to President Vladimir Putin of Russia. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at the Opening Session of the NATO-Russia Council Meeting in Rome

May 28, 2002

Secretary General, thank you for your leadership. Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for your grand hospitality. You've been a great host. And I want to welcome our friend President Vladimir Putin to this table, and all my NATO colleagues.

Today marks an historic achievement for a great alliance and a great European nation. Two former foes are now joined as partners, overcoming 50 years of division and a decade of uncertainty. And this partnership takes us closer to an even larger goal, a Europe that is whole, free, and at peace for the first time in history.

NATO was born over a half a century ago as an alliance committed to defending democracy and advancing freedom. Today we renew our commitment to these important goals. And as we reach out to a new Russia that is building freedom in its own land and is already joining us in defending freedom against a common enemy, we do so in the spirit of peace and friendship.

The attacks of September the 11th made clear that the new dangers of our age threaten all nations, including Russia. The months since have made clear that by working together against these threats, we multiply our effectiveness.

The NATO-Russia Council gives us the opportunity to move forward together on common challenges and to begin building ties that can be expanded far into the future. We will start with areas where our ability to help one another as equal partners is unmistakable, areas such as countering terrorism, preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, emergency planning, and search and rescue operations at sea.

We will improve our coordination in places where we are already working together, such as the Balkans. NATO, Russia, and our other partners can take great pride in the greater peace and stability we have brought to that region.

We will also look ahead to other areas where we can expand our cooperation, such

as missile defense and airspace control that can strengthen the security of all of Europe.

Nothing we do will subtract from NATO's core mission. We will be practical, moving forward step by step. And as our trust and track record of success grows, so will the breadth and depth of our work together.

The NATO-Russia Council offers Russia a path toward forming an alliance with the Alliance. It offers all our nations a way to strengthen our common security, and it offers the world a prospect of a more hopeful century.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:03 a.m. in the main conference room at Pratica di Mare Air Force Base. In his remarks, he referred to NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson; Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi of Italy; and President Vladimir Putin of Russia.

Memorandum on Assistance to East Timor

May 27, 2002

Presidential Determination No. 2002-19

Memorandum for the Secretary of State

Subject: Presidential Determination on Eligibility of East Timor to Receive Defense Articles and Services Under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and the Arms Export Control Act

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by the laws and Constitution of the United States, including section 503(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and section 3(a)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, I hereby find that the furnishing of defense articles and services to East Timor will strengthen the security of the United States and promote world peace.

You are authorized and directed to report this finding to the Congress and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

George W. Bush

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 29.

Notice—Continuation of Emergency With Respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)

May 27, 2002

In accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing for 1 year the national emergency declared on May 30, 1992, with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) (the “FRY (S&M)”), as expanded on October 25, 1994, in response to the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serbs. In addition, I am continuing for 1 year the national emergency declared on June 9, 1998, with respect to the FRY (S&M)’s policies and actions in Kosovo. This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

On May 30, 1992, by Executive Order 12808, President Bush declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States constituted by the actions and policies of the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro. Under this emergency, President Bush first blocked all property and interests in property of the Governments of the FRY (S&M), Serbia, and Montenegro and subsequently prohibited trade and other transactions with the FRY (S&M).

On October 25, 1994, President Clinton expanded the scope of the national emergency by issuing Executive Order 12934 to address the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States posed by the actions and policies of the Bosnian Serb forces and the authorities in the territory that they controlled within Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On December 27, 1995, President Clinton issued Presidential Determination 96–7, directing the Secretary of the Treasury, *inter alia*, to suspend the application of sanctions imposed on the FRY (S&M) pursuant to the above-referenced Executive Orders and to continue to block property previously blocked until provision is made to address claims or encumbrances, including the claims of the other successor states of the former

Yugoslavia. This sanctions relief, in conformity with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1022 of November 22, 1995, was an essential factor motivating the FRY (S&M)’s acceptance of a peace agreement initialed by the parties in Dayton on November 21, 1995, and signed in Paris on December 14, 1995 (hereinafter the “Peace Agreement”). Sanctions against both the FRY (S&M) and the Bosnian Serb forces were terminated in conjunction with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1074 of October 1, 1996. This termination, however, did not end a requirement that those blocked funds and assets that are subject to claims or encumbrances remain blocked, until unblocked in accordance with applicable law.

Until the status of all remaining blocked property is resolved, the Peace Agreement implemented, and the terms of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1022 met, the national emergency declared on May 30, 1992, and the measures adopted pursuant thereto to deal with that emergency, must continue beyond May 30, 2002.

On June 9, 1998, by Executive Order 13088, President Clinton found that the actions and policies of the FRY (S&M) and the Republic of Serbia with respect to Kosovo, constituted an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. President Clinton therefore declared a national emergency to deal with that threat.

On January 17, 2001, President Clinton issued Executive Order 13192 amending Executive Order 13088 to lift and modify, with respect to future transactions, most of the economic sanctions imposed against the FRY (S&M). At the same time, Executive Order 13192 imposes restrictions on transactions with certain persons described in section 1(a) of the order, namely persons under open indictment for war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). It also provides for the continued blocking of property or interests in property blocked prior to the order’s effective date due to the need to address claims or encumbrances involving such property.

Because the crisis with respect to the situation in Kosovo and with respect to Slobodan Milosevic, his close associates and supporters

and persons under open indictment for war crimes by the ICTY has not been resolved, and because the status of all previously blocked property has yet to be resolved, I have determined that the national emergency declared on June 9, 1998, and the measures adopted pursuant thereto to deal with that emergency, must continue beyond June 9, 2002.

George W. Bush

The White House,
May 27, 2002.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:44 a.m., May 28, 2002]

NOTE: This notice was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 29, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on May 29.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders on
Continuation of the National
Emergency With Respect to the
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
(Serbia and Montenegro)**

May 27, 2002

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. I have sent the enclosed notice to the *Federal Register* for publication, stating that the national emergencies declared with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) (the “FRY (S&M)”) in 1992 and 1998, are to continue beyond May 30, 2002, and June 9, 2002, respectively. The most recent notice continuing these emergencies was published in the *Federal Register* on May 25, 2001.

1992 National Emergency. The 1992 national emergency involved imposition of economic sanctions first on the FRY (S&M), and subsequently, on Bosnia-Serb forces in Bosnia (the “Bosnian Serbs”). On December 27, 1995, President Clinton issued Presidential

Determination 96–7, directing the Secretary of the Treasury, *inter alia*, to suspend the application of sanctions imposed on the FRY (S&M) and to continue to block property previously blocked until provision is made to address claims or encumbrances, including the claims of the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia. This sanctions relief, in conformity with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1022 of November 22, 1995, was an essential factor motivating Serbia and Montenegro’s acceptance of a peace agreement initialed in Dayton on November 21, 1995, and signed in Paris on December 14, 1995 (hereinafter the “Peace Agreement”).

Sanctions against both the FRY (S&M) and the Bosnian Serbs were subsequently terminated in conjunction with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1074 of October 1, 1996. This termination, however, did not end a requirement that those blocked funds and assets that are subject to claims and encumbrances remain blocked, until unblocked in accordance with applicable law.

Until the status of all remaining blocked property is resolved, the Peace Agreement implemented, and the terms of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1022 met, this situation continues to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to continue the 1992 national emergency, and the measures adopted pursuant thereto, to respond to this threat.

1998 National Emergency. The 1998 national emergency involved sanctions imposed on the FRY (S&M) in response to its actions in Kosovo. On January 17, 2001, President Clinton issued Executive Order 13192 lifting and modifying, with respect to future transactions, most of the economic sanctions imposed against the FRY (S&M) with regard to the situation in Kosovo. At the same time, the order imposes restrictions on transactions with certain persons described in section 1(a) of the order, and persons under open indictment for war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). It also provides for the continued blocking of property or interests in property

blocked prior to the order's effective date due to the need to address claims and encumbrances involving such property.

Because the crisis with respect to the situation in Kosovo, and with respect to Slobodan Milosevic, his close associates and supporters and persons under open indictment for war crimes by the ICTY has not been resolved, and because the status of all previously blocked property has yet to be resolved, this situation continues to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. For these reasons, I have determined that the emergency declared with respect to Kosovo, and the measures adopted pursuant thereto, to respond to this threat must continue beyond June 9, 2002.

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Richard B. Cheney, President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 29.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders
Transmitting a Report on the
National Emergency With Respect to
the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
(Serbia and Montenegro)**

May 27, 2002

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

As required by section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c), and section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c), I am providing a report prepared by my Administration on a combined 6-month periodic report on the national emergencies declared with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in Executive Order 12808 on May 30, 1992, and Kosovo in Executive Order 13088 on June 9, 1998.

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives,

and Richard B. Cheney, President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 29.

**Statement Announcing Agreements
To Preserve Florida's Environment**

May 29, 2002

Florida is known worldwide for its beautiful coastal waters and the Everglades. Today we are acting to preserve both. Florida is also known for its strong commitment to preserving these extraordinary natural resources, and the Federal Government is a strong partner in those efforts.

Today I am extremely pleased to announce two historic actions in the State of Florida that exemplify personal stewardship and conservation partnerships. The United States Government will buy back the rights for natural gas and oil development in Destin Dome and in critical parts of the Everglades.

These are important steps in preserving some of our Nation's most beautiful natural treasures, including Big Cypress National Preserve, the Florida Panther National Wildlife Refuge, and the Ten Thousand Islands National Wildlife Refuge. Today's action once again demonstrates that my administration will take seriously the views of local communities. The Federal Government should continue to work closely with States and local communities in solving issues that affect energy security, the economy, and the environment.

I appreciate the good work of Secretary Norton and the staff of the Department of the Interior, Governor Bush and his team, the Collier family, and the private sector companies whose hard work has made these agreements possible. They have contributed greatly to our shared mission of sustained stewardship of these extraordinary natural areas.

**Statement Congratulating the Elliot
Richardson Prize Recipients**

May 29, 2002

I congratulate Secretary of State Colin Powell, former Director of the Office of Management and Budget Alice Rivlin, and

former Secretary of State George Shultz on their receipt of the first Elliot Richardson Prize for excellence and integrity in public service, awarded by the Council for Excellence in Government. Each of these distinguished public servants possesses the virtues embodied by Elliot Richardson: enduring commitment to the greater public good; a lifetime of public service; and courage, integrity, and diligence in the pursuit of excellence in Government.

Since September 11, Americans have demonstrated a renewed appreciation for the sacrifices that public servants make and for the commitment they bring to their jobs. The examples set by Secretary Powell, Director Rivlin, and Secretary Shultz stand as an inspiration to all Americans including our young people, especially those considering a career in Government service. Their lives serve as a testimony that public service is a noble calling.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives Transmitting a Department of Defense Budget Amendment

May 29, 2002

Dear Mr. Speaker:

I ask the Congress to consider the enclosed request for an FY 2003 budget amendment for the Department of Defense reflecting my decision to cancel the Army's Crusader artillery system. The budget totals proposed in my FY 2003 Budget would not be affected by this amendment.

The details of this request are set forth in the enclosed letter from the Director of the Office of Management and Budget. I concur with his comments and observations.

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

NOTE: This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 30.

Remarks Following a Cabinet Meeting and an Exchange With Reporters

May 30, 2002

The President. We started the Cabinet meeting today with a prayer from Secretary Mineta, who in his prayer reminded us that this is a somber day for America. It is the day in which we've removed all the debris from Ground Zero. On behalf of a grateful nation, I want to thank all those who participated in the cleanup of that deadly site and want our Nation to continue to offer our prayer to those families and friends and citizens who still hurt as a result of the attacks of September the 11th.

As well I talked about our trip, as did the Secretary. We had a very successful trip to Europe, successful bilaterals with France and Germany and Italy. And of course, the highlight of the trip was signing the treaty with Russia that really signifies to the world that the cold war is over, Russia is our friend, and we need to work together. And then we went—I've signed an agreement with NATO and Russia that basically said the same thing. And this is a good—this is the dawn of a new era in relationship with Russia that will be very positive for our country and for world peace. And after all, that's what we work to achieve, which is world peace.

I'll be glad to answer a couple of questions. Yes, Fournier [Ron Fournier, Associated Press], and then Randy [Randall Mikkelsen, Reuters].

FBI Reorganization/Civil Liberties

Q. Mr. President, the FBI is lifting restrictions on domestic spying, including against religious institutions and political organizations. Is there a risk of going too far in the battle against terrorism and actually losing some freedoms that are very important to the country?

The President. Of course, the Attorney General will be briefing the Nation today about what we intend to do. And here's what we intend to do: We intend to honor our Constitution and respect the freedoms that

we hold so dear; and secondly, we want to make sure that we do everything we can to prevent a further attack, protect America.

The FBI needed to change. It was a organization full of fine people that loved America, but they—the organization didn't meet the times. And so I appreciate Director Mueller's reform measures. This is a man who came on to the FBI not many days before the September the 11th attack, and he's now reforming this important agency, all aimed at preventing a further attack. Our most important job is to protect America. And the initiative that the Attorney General will be outlining today will guarantee our Constitution, and that's important for the citizens to know.

Randy, and then John [John King, Cable News Network].

Situation in South Asia

Q. Mr. President, are you preparing to activate plans for evacuating American civilians and troops from Pakistan and India? And how much concern do you have that the standoff over Kashmir is allowing Al Qaida to regroup and operate in Pakistan?

The President. Well, first of all, the Secretary is—both Secretaries are analyzing what it would take to protect American lives, if need be. Secondly, we are making it very clear to both Pakistan and India that war will not serve their interests. And we're a part of a international coalition applying pressure to both parties, particularly to President Musharraf. He must stop the incursions across the line of control—he must do so. He said he would do so. We and others are making it clear to him that he must live up to his word.

Al Qaida is a—they'll find weakness, and we are doing everything we can to continue to shore up our efforts in—on the Pakistani-Afghan border. And they shouldn't think they're going to gain any advantage as a result of any conflict that may be—or talk of conflict between India and Pakistan, because we're still going to hunt them down.

This is a long war. You know, I was just reflecting the other day, we've only been at this for—we've haven't even been fighting this war for a year yet. And we've got a lot of work to do. And there will be moments

where the Al Qaida thinks that, you know, maybe America is not after them, and they'll feel safe and secure. And you know, they'll think they'll kind of settle into some cave somewhere. But they don't understand the intention of this administration, which is to patiently hunt these people down, and that's exactly what we're going to do.

Q. Are you sending Secretary Rumsfeld next week to the region?

The President. Yes, he's going there. Deputy Secretary of State Armitage is going this week, and then Secretary Rumsfeld is going as well.

Q. This week or next, sir?

The President. Next week.

Secretary Rumsfeld. Next week.

The President. Yes, early next week.

John, last question.

Legislative Agenda/Situation in the Middle East

Q. Sir, a two-part, if you don't mind. One, there seems to be a sense again in the Middle East with respect to a period of treading water. CIA Director Tenet is supposed to go. I'm trying to get your sense of whether you have seen any tangible proof from the parties that they are willing to take the steps necessary to move beyond the standoff.

And you have it on the table today also, your domestic policy team—I'm wondering if you come back from the trip, if you discuss today the sense of frustration, if you will, that Congress went home for Memorial Day without acting on many of the things a few months back you had asked them to do.

The President. Well, let me address the second first. We have been pleased with how many of our initiatives have moved through the House of Representatives and been frustrated by the fact they haven't moved through the Senate.

Having said that, I was pleased that the Senate moved the trade promotion authority bill and hope when they get back that they call a conference quickly and get this bill to my desk. It's important for people who are looking for work here in America.

But there's still a lot of work to be done in the Senate. They've got to get this supplemental done quickly. It's important that we

get a supplemental out and, frankly, a supplemental that doesn't bust the budget. And we'll be looking forward to working with the Senators to explain to them that the supplemental ought to focus on emergency measures, measures that are needed to fight the war, to button up the homeland. But the supplemental shouldn't be viewed as an opportunity to load up—to load it up with special projects.

In terms of the Middle East, we are sending—we sent Ambassador Burns there yesterday; Director Tenet is going—all aimed at providing the steps necessary to provide the institutions that will create stability in a potential Palestinian state. And that's very important. That's very important because it begins to say that people are responsible. It's tangible evidence that what I said in the Rose Garden is what we mean, that people need to be responsible for their actions. Mr. Arafat needs to be responsible, and part of that responsibility is to reform a security force so that it will actually keep security in the region.

The Secretary was telling me that there was some talk of a new finance minister being promoted in the Palestinian Authority, a person that has got international standing. That is a positive development, because one of the things that worries us is spending any international aid on an authority that might not keep good books, that the money might not actually go to help the Palestinian people but might end up in somebody's pocket. And that concerns us.

So John, to answer your question, we are—we are making progress on a strategy that will put the underpinnings of a Palestinian state in place. And it's going to take a while; we recognize that. But we're going to continue to work the issue very hard.

Q. Have you seen enough from the parties to schedule the conference the Secretary wants to hold or—

The President. Well, the scheduling of a conference is a matter of making sure that the—that we find the right place and the right time to do so, and the Secretary is working on that.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:17 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Pervez Musharraf

of Pakistan; William J. Burns, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs and former U.S. Ambassador to Jordan; and Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority.

Memorandum on Provision of \$25.5 Million To Support a Train and Equip Program in Georgia

May 30, 2002

Presidential Determination No. 2002-20

Memorandum for the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense

Subject: Provision of \$25.5 Million to Support a Train and Equip Program in Georgia

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by the laws and Constitution of the United States, including sections 614(a)(2) and 506(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, I hereby determine that it is vital to the national security interests of the United States to provide up to \$4.5 million in fiscal year 1997 and 1998 Foreign Military Financing Funds for assistance to Georgia under section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act without regard to any provision of law that might otherwise restrict provision of such funds. I further determine that an unforeseen emergency exists requiring immediate military assistance for Georgia that cannot be met under the Arms Control Export Act or any other law, and hereby direct the drawdown of defense articles and services from the stocks of the Department of Defense, and military education and training of the aggregate value of \$21 million to meet that emergency requirement. I hereby authorize the furnishing of this assistance.

The Secretary of State is authorized and directed to report this determination to the Congress and to publish it in the *Federal Register*.

George W. Bush

NOTE: This memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 31.

Remarks at a Celebration of African American Music, History, and Culture

May 31, 2002

The President. Good afternoon, and welcome to the people's house, the White House. Laura and I are so very pleased that you all came, and we're glad to see you. We had a wonderful time marking Black Music Month last year, and we had some pretty strong company—James Brown, Lionel Hampton, Shirley Caesar, the Four Tops—and we've got some great names with us today as well. And you're welcome. And we're looking forward to a fine afternoon, celebrating music loved by all the world and born right here in America.

I want to thank Laura for escorting me in today. [Laughter] I appreciate so very much our Secretary of Education, Mr. Rod Paige. Thank you for being here, Rod. He carries a heavy burden, and that is to work with school districts and folks all around our country to achieve this noble goal: Every child educated in America—I mean every child—and not one child left behind.

Dr. Bobby Jones is with us. I'm honored to welcome Bobby back. He was here for the gospel tribute, February 2002, and what a tribute that was. It was a fantastic evening.

Dr. Jones. We shouted the roof off.

The President. Yes, we did. [Laughter]

I appreciate the members of the Presidential Commission on the African American Museum of History and Culture; I'll speak a little bit about that in a second. Thank you all for coming.

Afterwards, there's a reception where the Robert E. Lee High School Chorale of Midland, Texas, will be singing. And what makes that interesting and important is that's the high school Laura graduated from. [Laughter] And so did Tommy Franks.

I want to thank all the artists and record label representatives of the entertainment industry who are with us today. Thanks for being here.

Today we'll be entertained by the famed Show Choir from the Duke Ellington School of the Arts. They're the bearers of one of America's oldest and finest musical legacies. We thank them for sharing their gifts, and

of course, they're welcome here to the White House.

We've also got some royalty with us, a woman known as the Queen of Gospel. For more than six decades—for more than six decades—I probably wasn't supposed to say that—[laughter]—since her first performance in Chicago's West Point Baptist Church, Albertina Walker has lifted the hearts everywhere.

I reminded Albertina that my middle name was Walker. [Laughter] She now calls me "Cousin." [Laughter] She reminded—her brother's name is George Walker. [Laughter] I call him "W." [Laughter]

But if you give this woman a song of praise, a song like "Lord, Keep Me Day By Day" or "He Keeps On Blessing Me" or "Yes, God Is Real," you'll hear it like it was meant to be sung. Not since her friend and mentor Mahalia Jackson was last recorded has the good news sounded so convincing and so sweet. We're honored you're here, "Cousin." [Laughter] Welcome to the White House.

In the history of Black music, some of the finest moments have taken place right here in this house. Among the first Black soloists to perform in the White House was the daughter of a slave; Sissieretta Jones sang ballads for three Presidents, including McKinley and Roosevelt. President Taft hosted the violinist Joseph Douglass, who was an ancestor of one of our guests today, Frederick Douglass IV. Welcome. Good to see you, sir.

The first Black choir to sing here was the Jubilee Singers from Fisk University. That happened over 120 years ago, during a time when America wasn't a very hospitable place for a lot of Americans. After all, the kids couldn't find a hotel room in which to stay. The next day they were welcomed here by President Chester A. Arthur and touched him deeply with their rendition of the old spiritual "Safe in the Arms of Jesus."

The spiritual has always had that power to move—to move many Americans. And they always will. The people who first sang them and taught them to their children knew the worst of human cruelty and earthly injustice. In their songs we hear the pain of separation, the bitterness of oppression, the troubles of the world. We also hear the courage

of a soul, the strength of a faith, and the trust in God, who will right every wrong and wipe away every tear.

Over many generations, in song both mournful and joyful, the music of Black America has created sounds like no other in America. From the deep South of another era to New Orleans to Chicago to Harlem, Black musicians have set a standard for originality and authenticity.

Someone once described Louis Armstrong's music as always real and true, honest and simple and noble. The same may be said of Black music in so many forms, and the artists who compose it and play it and sing it with such style. How much richer we are to have known the voices of Nat "King" Cole and Lena Horne, Diana Ross, Duke Ellington and their orchestra, Dizzy Gillespie on the horn, superb arrangements of Quincy Jones. America's a richer place for it.

The music varies widely and keeps changing, while incredible talent keeps coming on. Yet, there is a continuous theme: Black music is the sound of experience, written, as Stevie Wonder would say, "in the key of life."

For a long time, many citizens have hoped to see a museum in Washington that conveys the experience of African Americans. I'm pleased that Congress has authorized a Presidential commission, which I take very seriously, to take us closer to the goal of building a National Museum of African American History and Culture. I hope the museum, when it's built, will remind visitors of both the suffering and the triumph, the hurt that was overcome, the barriers that are being cast away.

In the Black American experience, there has been a lot of pain, and America must recognize that. There's been progress, too, and there needs to be more. And always, there will be faith that mankind must be called to a higher calling—to be kind and just, if only he would follow what Martin Luther King, Jr., called the soul-saving music of eternity. The music and culture of Black Americans has brought great beauty into this world. Today, it brings great pride to our country. And for the contributions so many of you have made to that legacy, your fellow Americans are very grateful.

I want to thank you for being here. And it is now my honor to bring to this podium the Queen herself, Albertina Walker.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:20 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to gospel artist Bobby Jones; and Gen. Tommy R. Franks, USA, Commander in Chief, U.S. Central Command.

Proclamation 7568—Black Music Month, 2002

May 31, 2002

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

America's diverse and extraordinary musical heritage reflects the remarkable cultural and artistic history of our Nation. From gospel, blues, and jazz to rock and roll, rap, and hip-hop, our Nation's musical landscape offers an astounding array of uniquely American styles. During Black Music Month, we celebrate a critically important part of this heritage by highlighting the enduring legacy of African American musicians, singers, and composers, and urging every American to appreciate and enjoy the fabulous achievements of this highly creative community.

Early forms of black American music developed out of the work song, which had its roots in African tribal chants. Through this music, slaves shared stories, preserved history, and established a sense of community. As many African slaves in early America became Christians, they adapted their music into the songs and life of the church. These spirituals eventually evolved into a genre that remains vibrant and very meaningful today—gospel music. This great musical tradition developed under the leadership of people like Thomas Dorsey, who was known as the Father of Gospel Music. He composed many great gospel songs that have become standards, and he established the tradition of the gospel music concert.

Following emancipation, African Americans enjoyed unprecedented opportunities but also faced many new and frequently oppressive challenges. Frustrations from these

struggles for freedom and equality found expression in a style of music that came to be known as the blues. Innovative musical geniuses like W.C. Handy, Robert Johnson, the Reverend Gary Davis, and Mamie Smith were among the legendary pioneers of blues music.

As blacks migrated throughout the United States in the early 1900s, they tapped into their collective experience and creativity to develop new expressions of music. New Orleans became the center for a particularly American form of music—jazz. This novel genre combined unique rhythms and melodies with the sounds of stringed, brass, and woodwind instruments. Jazz captured the interest of 20th century America, making household names of great African American artists like Louis Armstrong, Charlie Parker, Ella Fitzgerald, and Miles Davis. The unparalleled brilliance of these and other great jazz musicians had an extraordinary effect upon the American musical tradition, while bringing great pleasure to millions of fans.

In the 1940s, rhythm and blues emerged, synthesizing elements from gospel, blues, and jazz; and from these styles came the birth of rock and roll. A fabulous array of artists helped to pioneer this modern musical transformation, including Chuck Berry, Ray Charles, Marvin Gaye, Aretha Franklin, and Stevie Wonder.

As we reflect on the rich and distinctive history of so many talented artists, we celebrate the incredible contributions that black musicians have made to the history of American music and their influence on countless forms of music around the world.

Now, Therefore, I, George W. Bush, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim June 2002 as Black Music Month. I call on Americans of all backgrounds to learn more about the rich heritage of black music and how it has shaped our culture and our way of life, and urge them to take the opportunity to enjoy the great musical experiences available through the contributions of African American music.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirty-first day of May, in the year of our Lord two thousand two, and of

the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twenty-sixth.

George W. Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., June 4, 2002]

NOTE: This proclamation will be published in the *Federal Register* on June 5.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders
Reporting Designations Under the
Foreign Narcotics Kingpin Act
May 31, 2002**

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I hereby report pursuant to section 804(b) of the Foreign Narcotics Kingpin Act, 21 U.S.C. 1901–1908, 8 U.S.C. 1182 (the “Kingpin Act”), that I have designated the following foreign persons for sanctions pursuant to the Kingpin Act, and that I am imposing sanctions upon them pursuant to that Act:

Ismael Zambada Garcia
Eduardo Gonzalez Quirarte
Mario Ernesto Villanueva Madrid
Luis Fernando da Costa
Oded Tuito
Haji Ibrahim
Samuel Knowles

Sincerely,

George W. Bush

NOTE: Letters were sent to Joseph R. Biden, Jr., chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; Patrick Leahy, chairman, Senate Committee on the Judiciary; Bob Graham, chairman, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence; Max Baucus, chairman, Senate Committee on Finance; Carl Levin, chairman, Senate Committee on Armed Services; Henry J. Hyde, chairman, House Committee on International Relations; F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr., chairman, House Committee on the Judiciary; Porter J. Goss, chairman, House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence; William M. Thomas, chairman, House Committee on Ways and Means; and Bob Stump, chairman, House Committee on Armed Services. An original was not available for verification of the content of this letter.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

May 25

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled from Moscow, Russia, to St. Petersburg, Russia, where the President participated in a wreath-laying ceremony with President Vladimir Putin of Russia at Piskarevskoye Cemetery. Later, President Bush and Mrs. Bush went to the State Hermitage Museum for a tour and lunch with President Putin and his wife, Lyudmila.

In the evening, the President, Mrs. Bush, President Putin, and Mrs. Putin attended a performance of "The Nutcracker" at Mariinskiy Theater and later took a White Nights boat tour on the Neva River.

May 26

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Bush attended a service at the Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg and later toured the Russian Museum.

In the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Bush traveled to Paris, France. In the evening, the President had a working dinner with President Jacques Chirac of France at Elysee Palace.

May 27

In the morning, the President met with personnel at the U.S. Embassy in Paris. He and Mrs. Bush then traveled to Sainte Mere Eglise, France, arriving in the afternoon. Later, they traveled to Colleville-sur-Mer, France, where the President participated in a wreath-laying ceremony with President Jacques Chirac of France at the Normandy American Cemetery.

In the evening, the President traveled to Rome, Italy, where he had meetings and a working dinner with Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi of Italy at Villa Madama.

May 28

In the morning, the President met with President Carlo Azeglio Ciampi of Italy at Quirinale Palace. He then traveled to Pratica di Mare Air Force Base for NATO summit meetings.

In the afternoon, the President returned to Rome and met with Pope John Paul II at the Vatican. He then returned to Washington, DC.

May 29

In the morning, the President met in the Oval Office with Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida to discuss environmental issues in Florida.

The White House announced that the President will meet with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt at Camp David, MD, on June 7–8 to discuss developments in the Middle East and key bilateral issues.

The President declared a major disaster in the Federated States of Micronesia and ordered Federal aid to supplement national and State recovery efforts in the area struck by Typhoon Mitag on February 26–March 3.

The President declared a major disaster in Illinois and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms, tornadoes, and flooding on April 21 and continuing.

May 30

In the morning, the President had CIA and FBI briefings. In the afternoon, he had lunch with Vice President Dick Cheney. Later, he dropped by a USA Freedom Corps service opportunities fair for White House staff in the Indian Treaty Room of the Eisenhower Executive Office Building.

The President announced his intention to appoint Fernando Caldeiro, Van Dedric Romero, and Juan Secada as members of the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans.

The President announced his intention to designate Enedelia Schofield as Co-Chair of the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals as members of the National Museum of African American

History and Culture Plan for Action Presidential Commission: Renee Joslyn Amoore; Barbara Alice Franco; Harold Kenneth Skamstad, Jr.; Eric Lin Sexton; Currie Dioan Ballard; and Andrew Gene McLemore, Jr.

May 31

In the morning, the President had intelligence and FBI briefings. In the afternoon, he traveled to Camp David, MD.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals as members of the President's New Freedom Commission on Mental Health: Jane Adams; Rodolfo Arredondo; Daniel B. Fisher; Anil Godbole; Henry Troutman Harbin; Ginger Lerner-Wren; Robert Neil Postlethwait; Waltraud Ellinger Prechter; Randolph John Townsend; and Deanna Felber Yates.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals as members of the Board of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts: Smith Bagley; William Francis McSweeney; Frank Hilton Pearl; Mark S. Weiner; Thomas Edgar Wheeler; and Albert B. Glickman.

Nominations Submitted to the Senate

NOTE: No nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

Released May 25

Transcript of a press briefing by Secretary of State Colin L. Powell on the President's visit to Russia

Released May 28

Transcript of a press briefing by Secretary of State Colin L. Powell on the President's visit to Europe

Fact sheet: NATO-Russia

Released May 29

Statement by the Press Secretary: Visit by President Mubarak of Egypt

Statement by the Press Secretary announcing that the President signed H.R. 4592 and H.R. 4608

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to the Federated States of Micronesia

Statement by the Press Secretary on disaster assistance to Illinois

Fact sheet: Taking Action To Preserve Florida's Environment

Released May 30

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Ari Fleischer

Released May 31

Transcript of a press briefing by Deputy Press Secretary Scott McClellan

Statement by the Deputy Press Secretary on designation of drug traffickers to be subject to sanctions provided in the Kingpin Act

Fact sheet: Overview of the Foreign Narcotics Kingpin Designation Act

Announcement: Calling America's Graduates to Volunteer Service

Acts Approved by the President

Approved May 29

H.R. 4592 / Public Law 107-183

To name the chapel located in the national cemetery in Los Angeles, California, as the "Bob Hope Veterans Chapel"

H.R. 4608 / Public Law 107-184

To name the Department of Veterans Affairs Medical and Regional Office Center in Wichita, Kansas, as the “Robert J. Dole Department of Veterans Affairs Medical and Regional Office Center”

Approved May 30

H.R. 1840 / Public Law 107-185

To extend eligibility for refugee status of unmarried sons and daughters of certain Vietnamese refugees

H.R. 4782 / Public Law 107-186

To extend the authority of the Export-Import Bank until June 14, 2002